

PARI

*shaping
change*

PARI

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT 2020



CONTENT COMPILATION

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ANNUAL REPORT 2020





the team



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director's letter



MBONGISENI BUTHELEZI

We have now lived with Covid-19 for over a year, and in that time, learned a great deal about how broken parts of our public institutions are. The failings of the state's emergency responses to the pandemic outbreak have brought home that the analyses of declining state capability, that PARI and others have offered over the years, were accurate.

When businesspeople and linked public officials raided billions from the public purse in the procurement of personal protective equipment, it became plain that public procurement requires urgent reform, as PARI has been arguing for years. Additionally, it was revealed that the Education Department spent R431-million on 'deep-cleaning' schools in ways that were not required and not recommended. Covid-19's impact would likely have been less severe in some ways had the pandemic outbreak found institutions of the state that were fit for purpose and functioning well.

While we were all making sense of the corona virus waves and risk-adjusted strategy levels, the State Capture Commission continued to reveal how the rapaciously greedy, who had access to public institutions and

political power, operated to bring the country to the brink of ruin. But just when we thought things were turning around under the present administration, the Digital Vibes scandal broke – R90-million misappropriated as part of the R150-million Covid-19 and National Health Insurance communications contract. It confirmed just how much the abuse of procurement processes and political positions remains rampant despite the change of national leadership in 2018.

These recent developments show us that society needs to be eternally vigilant. A free media and vocal civil society organisations – which are themselves ethical and accountable to the public – will remain ever necessary as watchdogs of our democracy.

Covid-19 has brought hardship to all of us, but especially to people who eke out a living in precarious circumstances. Job losses have been staggering, taking unemployment rates to a record high. The state's response of providing short-term relief grants has been inadequate. Yet it is a reality that fiscal resources are depleting fast. We are indeed between a rock and a hard place. Major change is needed going forward to conceive and build an inclusive society.



It has also been a difficult year for all of us at PARI – wrestling with the isolation of working remotely and with constant fear and anxiety about oneself or loved ones falling ill and potentially dying. While most of us have remained healthy, all of us have been affected when people close to us have fallen ill and, in some instances, passed away at different points in the pandemic. We have done the best to keep one another's spirits high and to keep going with our work as best we could. Paradoxically, we had a surprisingly productive year in 2020, as the outputs documented in the pages of this report demonstrate.

The only way things will get better from here is for the vaccine programme to gain speed and for the economic recovery plan to bear fruit fast. Underlying the achievement of the ambitions we have repeatedly heard articulated by President Ramaphosa, Ministers, Premiers and other leaders, is a fit-for-purpose state.

Covid-19 has hamstrung the functioning of the state as officials work remotely and some have to be given crash courses in how to use basic technologies to be able to keep working. Everywhere around us we see and hear how services as mundane as licence renewals have slowed to a crawl.

It is glaringly obvious that as we emerge out of the present crisis, the state has to be built back better. The challenge is for all of us who can to roll up our sleeves and get involved. It is no longer enough to criticise from a distance and say 'they' must do it. We are all 'they' now and we are in it together.

PARI is unique in how it combines academia with government advocacy. We have a graduate teaching program but also work with decision-makers in the country to help them develop solutions to governance problems. In certain moments, we play the role of partners with state actors and, in other moments, we hold their feet to the fire as activists.

Mbongiseni Buthelezi,
From an interview with
the Ford Foundation



the year in review

THE NEW NORMAL

2020 was an unprecedented year as the Covid-19 pandemic created serious challenges, and unexpectedly, extreme productivity in the organisation across the six programme areas.

On 23 March, President Cyril Ramaphosa announced a national lockdown to curb the spread of the Covid-19 virus that was fast becoming a global pandemic. PARI staff had to quickly begin acclimatising to what the world was calling ‘a new normal’ – being confined to home, working and conducting research solely online or by phone and managing the emotional fallout of isolation, home schooling, infections and so on.

Due to the widespread and serious hardships of lockdown on a national level, PARI began, early on in the year, supporting initiatives like the C19 People’s Coalition and civil society organisations calling for accountability in terms of [the hunger crisis](#), [government looting of Covid-19 funds](#), [the public health system](#) and other [issues around governance failures](#) and [a capable state](#). Read more [here](#).

By June, productivity began to gain momentum in a way the Institute had not experienced before. This was partly due to seeds planted in 2019 to restructure the organisation that yielded a new research committee. Backed by a stable and well-functioning exco, the Institute’s work was shaped into focused programmes with dedicated teams, around a three-year strategy.

The groundwork began to bear fruit in each focus area in terms of in-depth work – hosting webinars and putting out working papers, book chapters, reports and journal articles. Some of the highlights of 2020 were the reports *The End of the Road*, from the Local Government programme, and Energy and Society’s *A Just Distribution*; the State Reform submissions of comments on draft legislation around public procurement and professionalising the public service; and the working paper, *Exploring Institutional Coordination of the Return to Schools* from the Education Governance programme. All through the year, PARI researchers made appearances in the media, sharing their latest research and work in the public domain, and hosted seven online events. Detailed updates on each of the programmes can be found [here](#).

The new organisational structure precipitated a complete rebranding and overhaul of PARI’s logo and website – presenting a fresh and dynamic visual identity for the organisation which coincided with the PARI offices moving to new premises in Forest Town (during the lockdown).

The organisation also reached out to its networks around the globe to contribute to a new series on state-society relations in the context of the pandemic *Covid-19, States and Societies*, which received 14 thought-provoking submissions and may continue as a longitudinal study of social contracts during the pandemic in those countries.

A particularly notable publication was a [special issue of Transformation](#) that featured six PARI articles on local government that offer new understandings about the way that municipalities work.

NATIONAL TREASURY CHINA SHOP



PART ONE

shaping thought and opinion

Modern governance is defined by institutions designed to minimise reliance on the character of leaders and citizens and recognises that well-designed institutions ensure good people; it is the institutions as they are that corrupts them.

From: Reforming the Public Procurement System in South Africa
Position Papers on State Reform, Paper 3

BOOK CHAPTERS

Education

- Chilenga-Butao, T., N. Pakade and M. Ehren (2020) '[National Standardized Assessments in South Africa: Policy and Power Play](#)', in S. Grek, M. Christian and A. Verger (eds) *World Yearbook of Education 2021; Accountability and Datafication in the Governance of Education*, pp. 125-142. Abingdon; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pakade, N. and T. Chilenga-Butao (2020) '[Distrust, Accountability and Capacity in South Africa's Fragmented Education System](#)', in M. Ehren and J. Baxter (eds) *Trust, Accountability and Capacity in Education Reform: Global Perspectives in Comparative Education*, ch. 12. Abingdon: Routledge.

REPORTS

Local Government

- Ledger, T. and M. Rampedi (2020) [The End of the Road: A Critical Review of the Local Government Fiscal Framework](#). A PARI report.

State Reform

- PARI (2020) [Report of Proceedings: Envisaging a New Path for State-Owned Enterprises](#). A PARI and SDG report.

POSITION PAPERS ON STATE REFORM

At our conference in 2019 – Defeating State Capture and Reforming the State – in collaboration with Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, an outcome was that there are three key areas for state reform: public procurement; appointments and removals in the public service; and the criminal justice system.

PARI then drafted three state reform papers corresponding to the key areas, and after consultations with various civil society actors, consolidated these into position papers.

This series of position papers argues for crucial reforms of the South African state. The goal of these reforms is to realise a rigorous reduction in corruption and in the influence of patronage in South African politics while improving the political responsiveness, efficiency, and developmental effectiveness of its public administration.

- Brunette, R. (2020) '[Appointment and Removal in the Public Service and Municipalities](#)'. Position Papers on State Reform, Paper 1.
- Belvedere, F. (2020) '[Appointments and Removals in Key Criminal Justice System Institutions](#)'. Position Papers on State Reform, Paper 2.
- Brunette, R. and J. Klaaren (2020) '[Reforming the Public Procurement System in South Africa](#)'. Position Papers on State Reform, Paper 3.





A WINDOW INTO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

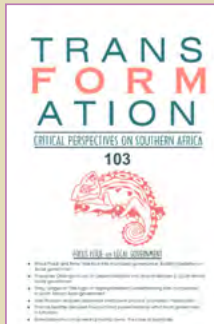
PARI produced a special issue of the journal **Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa**, in October 2020. It features PARI authors Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, Tracy Ledger, Joel Pearson, Thomas Lesaffre and Emma Monama and was edited by Mosa Phadi and Peter Vale.

“This ambitious issue of Transformation seeks to open a window into local government, and offer new understandings about what a municipality is, and how it works. Many of these articles showcase exceptional research which was done in two municipalities in Limpopo Province. These municipalities demonstrate the precarious nature in the making of the South African democratic state.

State formation from below is extremely fragile and contested which is a reflection of what is happening at national level. Mogalakwena Local Municipality is home to the biggest platinum mine in the world. It is owned by a Canadian company, but some of its shareholders are connected to the governing party. Contestation over ownership, interpretations of the law, access to resources, among other things, are crystallised in this space, and the municipality forms one arena of contestation. The other municipality, Lephalale Local Municipality, hosts Eskom’s coal power megaproject, Medupi, and its feeder coal mines.

Here, the question of continuity and rupture with past modes of governance is brought into sharp relief. These municipalities, and the Limpopo Province more generally, illustrate how local and provincial politics are shaped by and embedded in national politics.”

From: **Inside the municipality: locating debates on local government**,
by Mosa Phadi and Peter Vale



JOURNAL ARTICLES FEATURED IN TRANSFORMATION: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

- Chilenga-Butao, T. (2020) 'Decentralisation and recentralisation in South Africa's local government: case studies of two municipalities in Limpopo', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp. 12–35.
- Ledger, T. (2020) '"The logic of appropriateness": understanding non-compliance in South African local government', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp. 36–58.
- Lesaffre, T. (2020) 'Being watched, being excluded and being made to speak the "truth": Foucault and power relations within a Limpopo municipality', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp. 83–102.
- Monama, E. (2020) 'Governing mining towns: the case of Lephalale', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp. 103–126.
- Pearson, J. (2020) 'Paperwork and power plays: contestation and performance at a Limpopo municipality', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp. 59–82.
- Phadi, M. and Vale, P. (2020) 'Inside the Municipality: Locating debates on local government', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 103: pp.1–11.

OTHER JOURNAL ARTICLES:

- Klaaren, J. and R. Brunette (2020) 'The Public Procurement Bill Needs Better Enforcement: A suggested provision to empower and incentivise whistleblowers', *African Public Procurement Law Journal*, 7(1): xxx
- Musakwa, W., G. Trynos, G. Paradza, E. Mpofu, N.A. Nyathi and N.B. Selamolela (2020) 'Partnerships and Stakeholder Participation in the Management of National Parks: Experiences of the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe', *Land* 9(11): pp. 399.
- Paradza, G., L. Mokwena and W. Musakwa (2020) 'Could Mapping Initiatives Catalyze the Interpretation of Customary Land Rights in Ways that Secure Women's Land Rights?' *Land* 9(10): pp. 344.



COVID-19, STATES AND SOCIETIES

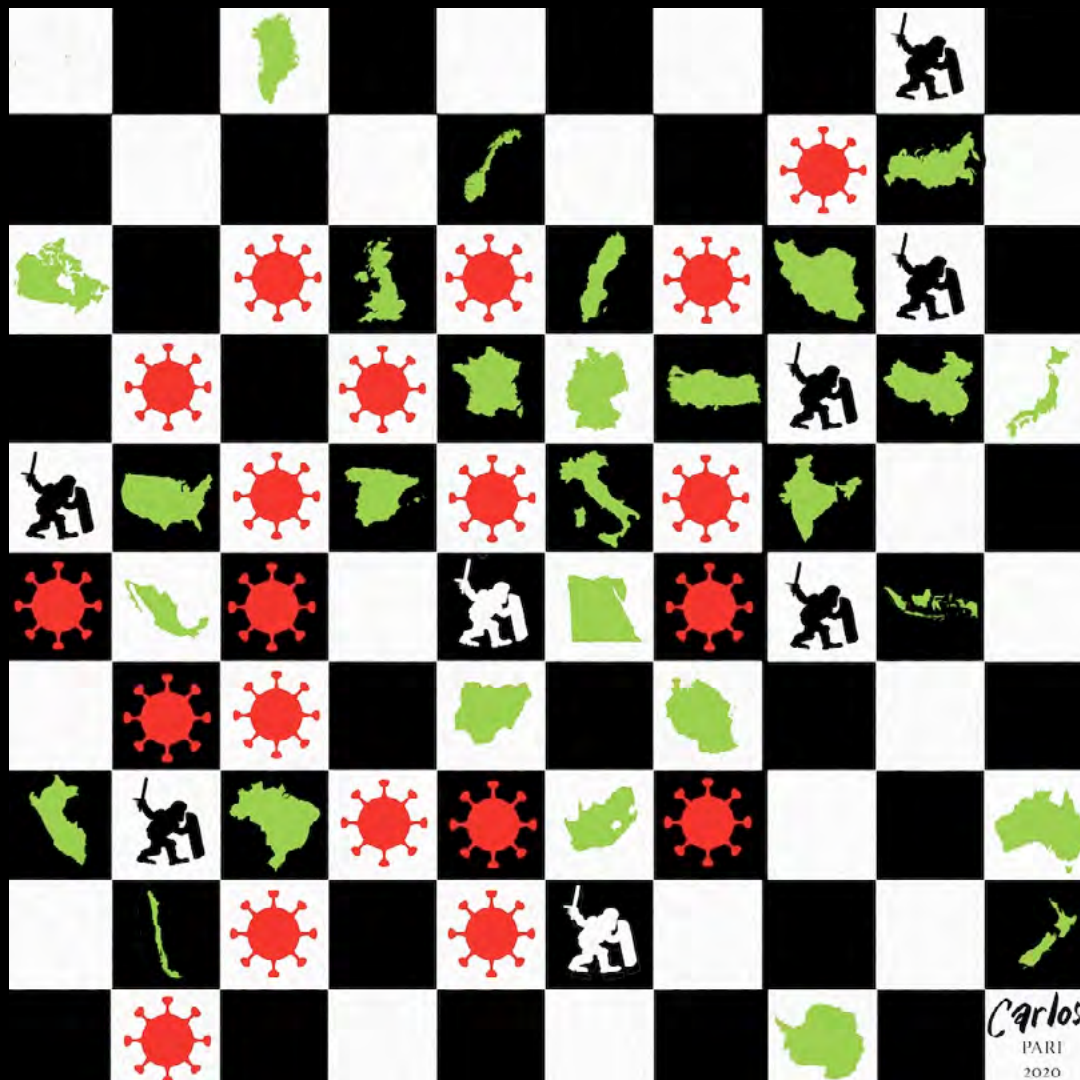
[Covid-19, States and Societies](#) is an online series which presents articles from around the globe, detailing relationships between states and societies: how they have unfolded since the beginning of the pandemic and throughout the varied experiences of lockdown in different countries. A small editorial team at PARI conceptualised this series to put South Africa's trajectory with Covid-19 alongside those of other countries; we gathered and published 14 papers during 2020 that represent a geographic spread and a cross-section of approaches by different states. The contributions were written at a specific time and reflected that particular moment in the life and the evolution of the pandemic in the contexts described.

- Blanes, R.L. (2020) '[The Case of Sweden and Covid-19](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 1.
- Sapio, F. (2020) '[China and State Capacity in the Era of Covid-19](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 2.
- Bukowski, W. (2020) '[Pandemic: The Italian Way](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 3.
- Domingues, J.M. (2020) '[Brazil: Half Blind in the Coronavirus Crisis](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 4.
- Nigam, A. (2020) '[Covid-19: The India Story](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 5.
- Soares Guimarães, A. (2020) '[Bolivia: Legitimation Crisis and State \(In\)capacity](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies, Paper 6.
- Mwasaga, B.G. (2020) '[Covid-19 Pandemic: An Experience from Tanzania](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies, Paper 7.
- McGregor, J. (2020) '[Covid-19 in the United Kingdom: Navigating a Global Pandemic](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies, Paper 8.
- Simon-Kumars and Jonas (2020) '[Revisiting State-Society Relationships in a Pandemic: New Zealand's Response to Covid-19](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies, Paper 9.
- Buthelezi, M. (2020) '[South Africa, Covid-19 and the Social Contract](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series, Paper 10.
- Ndajiwo (2020) '[Nigeria's Response To Covid-19](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies, Paper 11.
- Waris, A. and Mwaniki, M. (2020) '[A Covid-Era Discussion: Mobility of the Informal Sector, Fiscal Legitimacy and the Fiscal Contract in Kenya](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series. Paper 12.
- Levenson, Z. (2020) '[Pandemic as Campaign Stage: On Trump's Handling of Covid-19 in the United States](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series. Paper 13.
- Murray, A. (2021) '[Viral Contradictions: Canadian Exceptionalism and Covid-19](#)'. Covid-19, States and Societies Series. Paper 14.



We may share the same sun,
but we do not share the same roofs.

Kalenjin proverb



Education

- Chilenga-Butao, T. and N. Pakade (2020) 'Exploring Institutional Coordination of the Return to Schools'. Education Programme Working Paper 1.



Energy and Society

- Ledger, T. (2020) 'A Just Distribution'. Energy and Society Working Paper 1.



State Reform

- PARI (2020) 'Policy Brief: The Case for Encouraged Whistleblowing in Public Procurement in South Africa'. A PARI paper.
- PARI (2020) 'Toolkit for Public Servants'. A PARI Resource.
- PARI (2020) 'Submission to the Draft Public Procurement Bill'. Submission of public comments.



Positions in the public service are used as political capital where senior positions in the public service are used as currency or reward for loyalty within patronage networks.

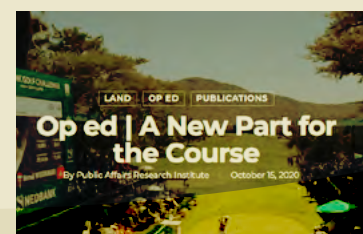
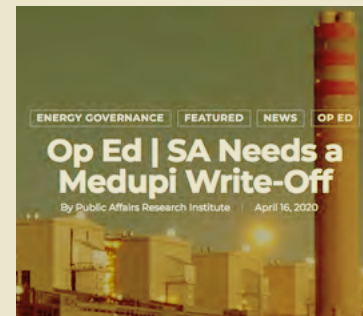
From: Toolkit for Public Servants



MEDIA

Opinion pieces

- Daily Maverick, News24. [‘The Public Procurement Bill Needs Muscle To Empower Whistleblowers’](#) by Ryan Brunette and Jonathan Klaaren, 5 March 2020.
- Mail & Guardian, [‘South Africa’s Invisible Majority: Women Feeding Hungry Families’](#) by Julie Smith and Tracy Ledger, 15 April 2020.
- Daily Maverick, [‘SA Needs A Medupi Write-Off’](#) by Tracy Ledger, 16 April 2020.
- Mail & Guardian, [‘Real Relief Requires The Reform Of State Recruitment’](#) by Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, 17 June 2020.
- Daily Maverick, [‘Patronage And Lack Of Ethics Creates A Culture Of Impunity In Municipalities’](#) by Thina Nzo, 16 July 2020.
- Mail & Guardian, [‘Another Reason Why Eskom Is The Bull In The Fiscal China Shop’](#) by Tracy Ledger, 17 July 2020.
- PARI, [‘Open Letter To The President: We Are Not “In This Together”, Poor Women Need Land Justice’](#) by Thatshisiwe Ndlovu, 24 August 2020.
- Mail & Guardian, [‘White Elephant Schools Reveal Lack Of Progress’](#) by Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, 20 September 2020.
- Mail & Guardian Thought Leader, [‘A New Part For The Course’](#) by Federica Duca, 14 October 2020.
- Bulawayo24, [‘Every Zimbabwean Deserves Secure Land Rights’](#) by Gaynor Paradza, 29 November 2020.
- Daily Maverick, [‘A just energy transition must be developmental, pro-poor and not deepen inequality’](#) by Tracy Ledger, 13 January 2021.



Opinion / Columnist

Every Zimbabwean deserves secure land rights

By Gaynor G Paradza

Broadcast media

Radio 702

[‘PSC to investigate its DG for allegedly appointing mistress in top post’](#). 30 January 2020. Thokozani Chilenga-Butao chatted to Bongani Bingwa about alleged nepotism in the Public Service Commission (PSC).

The Focal Point

[‘The Strategic Dialogue Group \(SDG\) and Public Affairs Research Institute \(PARI\) say it’s practical solutions and actions that can rescue state-owned entities’](#). 16 March 2020. SDG and PARI held a joint interactive dialogue session aimed at improving public discourse about how to address South Africa’s poverty and inequality through SOEs, says Sihle Moon.

Radio 702

[‘The Covid-19 lockdown and its impact on food security’](#). 1 April 2020. Eusebius Mckaiser on rights to food security during the Covid-19 pandemic, with panellists Tracy Ledger, Mervyn Abrahams, Mazibuko Jara & Jane Battersby-Lennard.

Power FM

[‘Building a Capable and Ethical State’](#). 3 May 2020. Reverend Frank Chikane and Pam Yako speak about building a capable and ethical state.

SABC News

[‘Civil Society Resorts to Courts to Enforce Good Governance’](#). 29 May 2020. Mbongiseni Buthelezi speaks to SABC Morning Live about whether the government is committed to good governance in state-owned enterprises.

SABC News

[‘South Africa’s Health System Under Scrutiny’](#). 3 July 2020. Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Alex van den Heever comment on public accountability and governance in the health system in the context of the pandemic.

eNCA

[‘Organisations Call for Action | SA’s Corruption Emergency’](#). 1 September 2020. Florencia Belvedere talks about an open letter to the President, co-written with Corruption Watch, calling for lasting procurement reform and highlighting both organisations’ submissions of comments on the draft Public Procurement Bill.

SAFM

[‘More Taxpayer Money for Political Parties’](#). 12 October 2020. Thina Nzo is a featured guest in a discussion around ANC’s treasurer-general calling for an increase in state funding for political parties.

PowerFM

[‘Public Procurement and the SIU Investigation into PPE scandal’](#). 24 February 2020. Dr Florencia Belvedere chatted to Ntokozo Mazibuko on PowerFM about the state of public procurement, responding to the SIU’s media briefing that same day on the Covid-19 PPE scandal.

In practical terms, it’s overwhelming and difficult for officials in provincial offices and local government to work from conflicting pieces of legislation.

– Dr Thokozani Chilenga-Butao, Research Associate at PARI,
SABC Morning Live, 22 September 2020



EVENTS

DATE	TITLE	Organisers
14 MARCH 2020	Dialogue: Envisioning a New Path for SOEs	Strategic Dialogue Group and PARI State Reform programme, Johannesburg
6 MAY 2020	Webinar: Launch event for the Recruitment Position Paper on State Reform	State Reform programme
18 JUNE 2020	Webinar: Unpacking Infrastructure Delivery in the Draft Procurement Bill	State Reform programme
16 SEPTEMBER 2020	Webinar: Towards Coherent Land Policy Making: Insights and Lessons	Land Governance programme
27 OCTOBER 2020	Webinar: Professionalising Local Government: Recruitment and Appointments in Municipalities	Local Government and State Reform programmes
5 NOVEMBER 2020	Webinar: Protect Our Whistleblowers	Ahmed Kathrada Foundation and PARI State Reform programme
25 NOVEMBER 2020	Webinar: The Future of the Ingonyama Trust: Substantive Accountability in a post-Covid era	Nelson Mandela Foundation, Land and Accountability Research Centre and PARI Land Governance programme
11 FEBRUARY 2021	Webinar: Back to School: Challenges to teaching and learning while managing a pandemic	Education Governance programme





Professionalising the public service is not just about tinkering with the recruitment processes, the qualifications requirements and experience of people. The test of whether people are fit and proper goes far beyond that. It includes whether people have a public service orientation in their minds, in their hearts and in everything they do.

– Kholofelo Sedibe, Deputy Director General (DDG) responsible for Leadership and Management Practices, Public Service Commission (PSC), 6 May 2020

PART TWO

programmes

The six PARI programmes came into full operation in 2020, as planned in the 2019 restructuring and rebranding of the organisation.





STATE REFORM

During the 2020-21 period, PARI managed to raise the profile of its work in the areas of public sector recruitment/removals and public procurement through the launch of its position papers and accompanying policy briefs, as well as interventions such as provisions of public comments on intended legislation, participation in webinars, media interviews and op-ed pieces. We participated in a number of civil society structures and initiatives to advocate for public sector reform and ensure that the momentum of the Zondo Commission of Enquiry's work continues. The pertinence and critical nature of the structural interventions proposed by PARI have been highlighted, amongst others, by the testimony heard before the Zondo Commission (particularly in relation to the appointment of board members to SOEs and the political/administrative divide in relation to Ministers/MECs and DGs/HoDs), as well as the multiple instances of Covid-related corruption, respectively. A number of PARI's proposals form part of strategic plans/outcomes of government. There is increasing focus on professionalising the public service and ensuring that public procurement is aligned to constitutional requirements.

The next year will be largely dedicated to carrying out necessary groundwork to advocate for the adoption of PARI's state reform proposals as part of state efforts to professionalise the public service and adopt new legislation to govern public procurement.

To radically reduce corruption and patronage, the goals of establishing the official professionalism and flexibility required by the developmental state will require a public administration that is insulated – in the right sorts of ways – from political interference and factionalism.

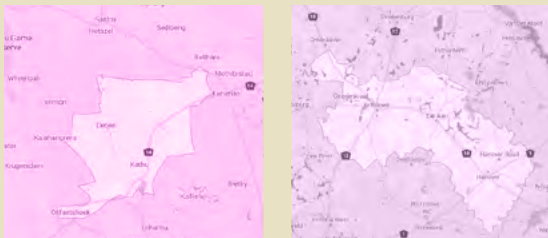
From: [Position Paper on Appointment and Removal in the Public Service and Municipalities](#)



LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Empirical research

PARI embarked on a Renewable Energy and Local Government research project for the period of 2020/21. Two municipalities, namely Gamagara and eMthanjeni Local Municipalities in the Northern Cape – known to be hosting some of the largest solar panels and wind turbines – were chosen as field sites. When the Covid-19 lockdown restrictions were relaxed in the last quarter of November 2020, we were able to resume with the planned fieldwork in eMthanjeni Municipality in November 2020 and January 2021. We managed to complete all interviews with municipal officials, political representatives and community members, including provincial government officials and community coordinators employed by the Independent Power Producers (IPPs) operating the renewable energy plants. However, due to political instability that ensued at Gamagara Local Municipality, we not able to include this municipality in 2021. The research report on renewable energy and local government is expected to be published at the end of July 2021.



Gamagara Local Municipality (left) and eMthanjeni Local Municipality (right)

Citizen-based accountability and advocacy

The programme commenced a project that seeks to strengthen civil society organisations capacity to conduct social audits, in partnership with Oxfam-ZA (OZA). Due to the regressive audit outcomes of 2018/19, this project was brought into effect as a response to the urgent need of strengthening accountability through the revival of social activism, citizenship and participation of marginalised communities, whose constitutional rights to access basic services are consistently undermined by increasing corruption, maladministration, poor accountability and transparency of local municipalities.

In December 2020, we successfully hosted our first online training on 'Introduction to Social Audits' with local civil society organisations from the Alfred Nzo District (Umzimvubu and Matatiele Local Municipalities). Most local civil society organisations operating in rural and peri-urban municipal areas had not encountered nor conducted social audits before. This training was therefore aimed at introducing the concept of social audits to local civil society organisations, demonstrating how they can be applied to local government as a tool of using evidence-based 'real time' information as a basis of ensuring transparency in procurement processes, monitoring the delivery of public goods and services, and enabling local communities to holding local government accountable for non-delivery of services.

PARI, OZA and Auditor General South Africa (AGSA) have signed an MoU for the pilot of this training in four municipalities for the period of 2021/22.

Media and publications

Despite the prevailing Covid-19 challenges, we have nevertheless successfully managed to sustain our media presence in public debates on policy and legislation issues using online platforms. We participated in virtual parliamentary engagements, webinars, radio and television commentary and published op-eds available on PARI's website. PARI was invited to participate in:

- A virtually streamed TV panel hosted by Accountability Lab on 'Fixing Local Government' in December 2020;
- An online panel discussion with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) CEO at the Dullah Omar Institute about the readiness of municipalities to host the local government elections;
- A television interview with SABC Morning Live on the Local Government Audit Outcomes (2019/20).

These debates sought to keep the public engaged on the upcoming 2021 local government elections and what the state needs to do in order to boost voter confidence at local government level. We have had an increased number of provincial government institutions showing interest in engaging with both PARI's report [Mind the Gap: Section 139 Interventions in theory and in practise](#), including presenting the former report in the Parliament National Council of Provinces Local Government Week in August 2020. PARI was also requested by parliament to present on professionalising local government in August 2020 and also presented at the Association for Public Accounts Committee (APAC) on preventative and pre-emptive measures for accountability in July 2020. This demonstrates that PARI's local government work is gaining tangible momentum and influence in legislative and policy reform processes.

Our only option is to revisit the basic design of local government ... We must ... develop an empirical basis to clarify our options in respect of the operating and financial structure of local government, so that we are no longer having these debates on a partisan or partial information basis.

From: [The End of the Road: A critical review of the local government fiscal framework](#)





LAND GOVERNANCE

In 2020, the Land Governance programme gained momentum, conducting fieldwork in Bushbuckridge Municipality on the role of local government in land governance; and in the Eastern Cape on women's access to land. Two journal articles on land governance were published in that period, along with an opinion article and an open letter to the President. Four working papers are currently underway for publication in 2021. The programme also hosted a webinar on land policy and participated on various webinar panels.

The PLAAS-PARI collaboration on integrated land administration seeks to build on this momentum through a recursive, multi-stage intervention which generates consensus among stakeholders. The collaboration held a consultative workshop in December 2020, titled *Land Administration, Housing Assets and Residential Property Transfers in the Affordable Housing Sector*, towards mobilising stakeholders in land administration.

Using a land administration lens PLAAS-PARI set out to find some common ground around how to overcome the way in which a dysfunctional land administration system manifests in problems in practice. The PLAAS-PARI partnership continues into 2021.

PARI joined NELGA Southern Africa in January 2021 – the Network of Excellence on Land Governance in Africa – and attended the Land Access Movement of South Africa's AGM as part of strengthening its networks with other civil society organisations.

Achieving coherence in land governance remains a challenge in South Africa. Attempts to reconcile diverse claims involve trade-offs and compromises. South Africa finds itself locked in these policy processes to mobilise and consolidate the diverse stakeholders in land governance.

Extract from webinar introduction
[Towards Coherent Land Policy-Making in SA: Insights and Lessons](#)





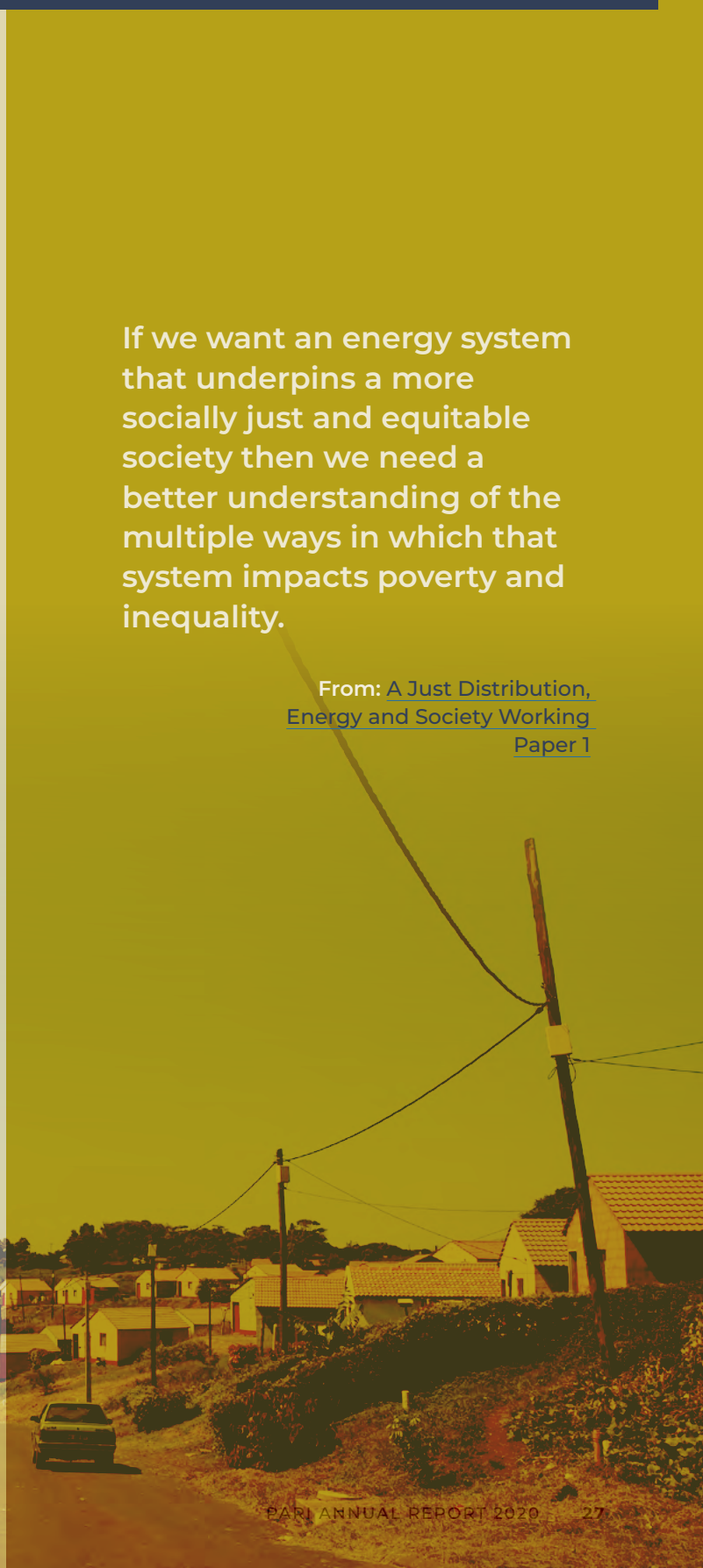
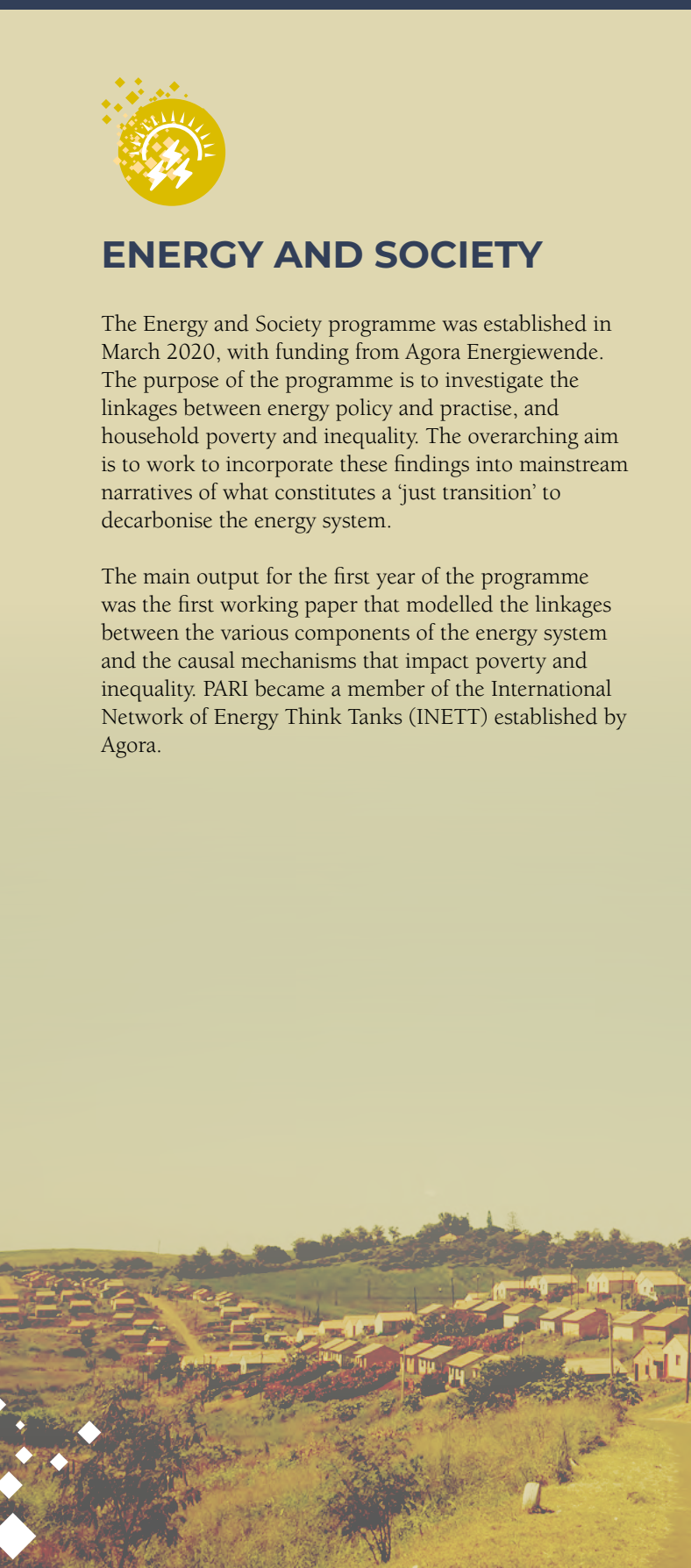
ENERGY AND SOCIETY

The Energy and Society programme was established in March 2020, with funding from Agora Energiewende. The purpose of the programme is to investigate the linkages between energy policy and practise, and household poverty and inequality. The overarching aim is to work to incorporate these findings into mainstream narratives of what constitutes a 'just transition' to decarbonise the energy system.

The main output for the first year of the programme was the first working paper that modelled the linkages between the various components of the energy system and the causal mechanisms that impact poverty and inequality. PARI became a member of the International Network of Energy Think Tanks (INETT) established by Agora.

If we want an energy system that underpins a more socially just and equitable society then we need a better understanding of the multiple ways in which that system impacts poverty and inequality.

From: [A Just Distribution, Energy and Society Working Paper 1](#)





EDUCATION GOVERNANCE

The Education programme became operational in 2020. Its main goal is to provide an institutional and governance lens of the basic education system in South Africa, fit for both academic and practical use, that demonstrates the effects of the legacies, institutional dynamics, and practices within the education system. This lens relies on academic research that is empirical and therefore provides a practical understanding of why education is not meeting the system's demands and expectations and how to confront this reality.

Within its first year, the programme produced two international publications, following a series of workshops, and partnership with the LEARN Research Institute based at the University of Leiden, in 2019. One of the publications, a book chapter in Trust, Capacity and Accountability as Conditions for Education System Improvement, was recently presented at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) conference in April 2021. In addition to these publications, the programme produced a working paper on factors that led to the reopening of schools in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape during the first wave of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020. Finally, the programme also has a Memorandum of Understanding with South African democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) to undertake and support research that is mutually beneficial for the research interests of both entities.

... what emerges is that each of these provincial education departments harnessed new capabilities, even where there were existing structures, that enabled this capacity. This is certainly unexpected and admirable for both departments because they proved that the crisis in education, caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, was not completely insurmountable. Moreover, their hard work to ensure that schools reopened proved that smaller crises within education can be resolved.

From: [Exploring Institutional Coordination of the Return to Schools: Provincial Education Responses to Covid-19](#)



ORGANISATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL STUDIES (OIS)

In 2020, the OIS programme moved to online learning. While having to adapt to ways of studying and interacting that were unprecedented, it afforded us the opportunity to reflect on pedagogies and methodologies. In the process of working on curriculum development, we have also experimented with new methodologies of research, reflected on fieldwork, data collection and what this means for an ethnographically orientated programme like OIS. The covid-19 pandemic brings into sharp relief existing inequalities within and between countries, and reminds to critically reflect on the state, on the institutions that it interacts with and on the role of society at large, collectively organised or not, in shaping progressive change and disrupting established patterns of inequality.

It is widely recognised that security is performed by a multiplicity of actors, rather than purely the public police. Together they constitute ‘networks’ of security. These ‘security networks’ are often taken for granted as legitimate sovereign bodies within Johannesburg’s wealthy suburbs. This research investigates the processes whereby these security networks come to be largely regarded as legitimate, which it does through case studies of two differently constituted suburban communities.

Lily Manoim,
abstract, Masters thesis

PART THREE

the pari team

EXECUTIVE

Executive Director: Mbongiseni Buthelezi
Head of Finance: Janita Kempen
Head of Administration: Lelethu Mazomba
Senior Researcher: Tracy Ledger
Senior Researcher: Federica Duca

OFFICE

Office Assistant: Pamela Ndlovu
Financial Administrator: Necia Quive
OIS Coordinator: Refiloe Ramaisa
Head of Administration: Lelethu Mazomba
Housekeeper: Sindy Siqalo Moyo
Groundsman: Enoch Brighton Nkatha

COMMUNICATIONS

Head of Communications: Vishanthi Arumugam

PROGRAMME LEADS

State Reform: Florencia Belvedere
Local Government: Thina Nzo
Land Governance: Gaynor Paradza
Energy and Society: Tracy Ledger
Education Governance: Noma Pakade and Thokozani Chilenga-Butao
Organisational and Institutional Studies: Federica Duca

RESEARCHERS AND ASSOCIATES

Crispian Olver: Research Associate
Devi Pillay: Researcher
Emma Monama: Research Associate
Federica Duca: Senior Researcher
Gaynor Paradza: Senior Researcher
Joel Pearson: PhD Fellow and Research Associate
Jonathan Klaaren: Research Associate
Kate Tissington: Research Associate
Mahlatse Rampedi: Researcher

Mosa Phadi: Research Associate
Noma Pakade: Researcher
Peter Vale: Research Mentor
Refiloe Joala: Research Associate
Ryan Brunette: Research Associate
Sarah Meny-Gibert: PhD Fellow and Research Associate
Simphiwe Dzengwa: PhD Fellow
Thatshisiwe Ndlovu: PhD Fellow and Researcher
Thina Nzo: Senior Researcher
Thokozani Chilenga-Butao: Research Associate
Tracy Ledger: Senior Researcher
Waseem Holland: Researcher

STUDENTS

Honours 2021

Shannon Wardlaw
Vincent Obisie-Orlu
Musa Sithole
Miché Roberts
Jabu Hlatshwayo
Samantha Mhlanga
Achievement Shitlhavani
Kagisho Nkadameng

Masters 2021

Michael Asikabulu
Faith Chavula
Nombasa Kumalo
Thaakirah Savahi
Noluthando Ngcobo
Patrick Lukusa
Monique Atouguia
Nyashadzashe Muponda
Mthokozisi Mthembu
Shannon Bernhardt

PhD 2021

Gerald Mandisodza
Owen Witbooi
Sikhumbuzo Dube

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Professor Patrick Heller

Lyn Cross Professor of Social Sciences and Professor of Sociology and International Studies, Watson Institute, Brown University

Dr Mbongiseni Buthelezi

Executive Director of Public Affairs Research Institute

PARI'S FUNDERS

Ford Foundation

Open Society Foundation

RAITH Foundation

Anglo American Chairman's Fund

First Rand Foundation

Yellowwoods

Agora Energiewende

PART FOUR

*annual
financial
statements*

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 28 FEBRUARY 2021

PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE NPC

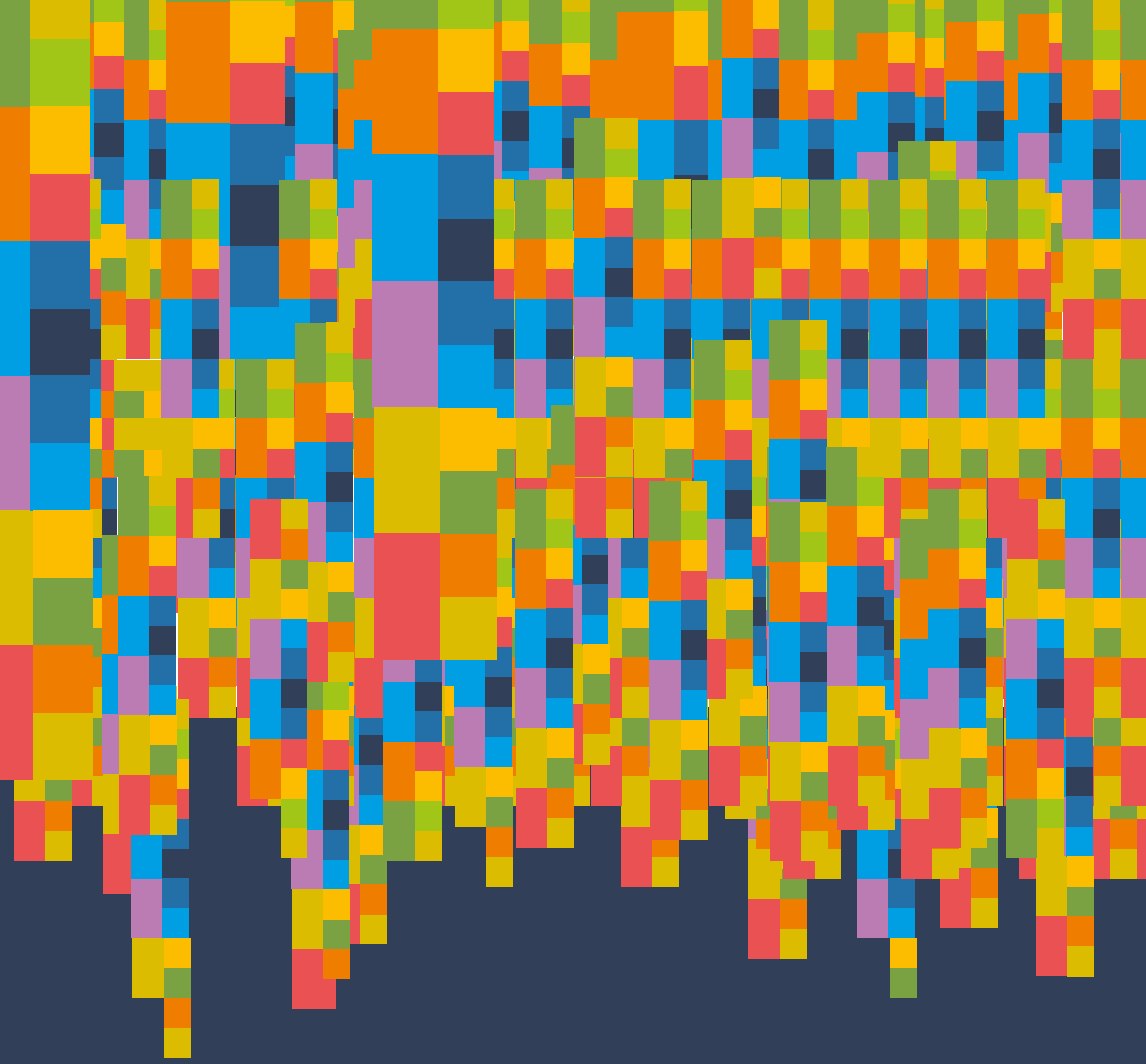
REGISTRATION NUMBER 2010/009156/08

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION AS AT 28 FEBRUARY 2021

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2021	2020
ASSETS			
Non-Current Assets			
Property plant and equipment	2	139,774	207,882
Current Assets			
Trade and other receivables	3	58,864	45,998
Cash and cash equivalents	5	13,845,303	13,453,256
		13,904,167	13,497,254
TOTAL ASSETS		14,043,941	13,705,136
EQUITY AND LIABILITIES			
Equity			
Reserves		4,032,804	–
Retained surplus		4,550,085	7,269,204
		8,582,889	7,269,204
Liabilities			
Current Liabilities			
Trade and other payables	6	5,461,052	6,435,932
TOTAL EQUITY AND LIABILITIES		14,043,941	13,705,136

STATEMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE INCOME

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2021	2020
Revenue	7	19,457,370	17,433,624
Other income		3,506	–
Operating expenses		(18,562,504)	(17,039,148)
Operating surplus/ (deficit)	8	898,372	394,476
Investment revenue		415,313	794,737
Surplus/ (deficit) for the year		1,313,685	1,189,213



PARI
PUBLIC AFFAIRS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT 2020

